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ABSTRACT

The communications of suffragist Lucy Stone illustrate the changes that the growth of women's magazines brought to nineteenth century feminists. As indicated in letters to friends and family, Lucy Stone became an active proponent of women's rights at a time when public speaking tours were the best means of reaching a wide audience. As the printing industry grew, she adopted the magazine as a way of communicating her ideals. One of several magazines for women that conformed to traditional sex roles, Stone's "The Woman's Journal," which appeared in 1870, was aimed at an audience of well-educated club women, professionals, and writers as yet uncommitted to the cause of women's suffrage. Contents included editorial matter on the political issues of the day as they related to women's issues. Stone's "personals" were aimed at (1) helping professional and intellectual women to know what their contemporaries were doing, (2) highlighting the most praiseworthy activities of such women, and (3) giving the "Journal" a touch of "high-society" polish and thus adding legitimacy to women's activities outside their prescribed roles in the home. The adjectives, nouns and titles that describe women in the "Journal" frequently resembled the patronizing language used in the newspapers of the time. This dichotomy has been explained by historians as a deliberate effort by the women's rights groups to "tone down" their message, to engender in the general public a belief that ordinary feminine women might actually want women's rights. The coincidence of prosuffrage publications with the grassroots populist movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries suggests that targeted publications carrying what is essentially an advertisement for a cause are a better means of communicating an ideology than is attempting to communicate that ideology individually. (HTH)

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Diffusion of Ideas by 19th Century Feminists: The Growth of Women's Magazines

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Diffusion of Ideas by 19th Century Feminists:
The Growth of Women's Magazines

This article examines the growth of women's magazines in the 19th century, their stances on the suffrage issue, and their importance for the success of the suffrage movement. Magazines provided a new opportunity to the women's suffrage movement to reach and influence a large, diverse, and geographically separated audience. Lucy Stone's publication, The Woman's Journal, was the voice of the American Woman Suffrage Association. Because the evolving communications strategies of Lucy Stone are exemplary of the broadening of the suffrage message that occurred with the new women's press, her personal and media communications are useful illustrations of the need to target one's message. Stone learned to imitate propagandists, and created a homogenized version of suffragists' concept of new gender roles, something that would have mass appeal. The success she enjoyed with this publication meant she could reach an audience that was far greater than the one she could influence by the old method of public speaking.

Diffusion of Ideas by 19th Century Feminists: The Growth of Women's Magazines

This article examines the growth of women's magazines in the 19th century, their stances on the suffrage issue, and the importance of women's magazines for the success of the suffrage movement. The communications of suffragist Lucy Stone are used as an illustration of the changes the growth of women's magazines brought to 19th century feminists.

History textbooks typically characterize the 19th century as the age of the Industrial Revolution, westward expansion, the California gold rush, Uncle Tom's Cabin, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. The Industrial Revolution created a need for cheap (e.g., female or immigrant) labor in the mills; woman's actual "sphere" extended from home to factory.[1] Westward expansion demanded that many women step outside prescribed gender roles.[2] The abolitionist movement began educating women in forms of political action;[3] the success of Uncle Tom's Cabin, first as a serial and soon after as a book, clearly demonstrated women could make effective use of print media to stimulate public action.[4] The Civil War taught many women to create and work within structured organizations.[5] During Reconstruction, women learned they must organize the fight for women's suffrage on their own. The support they had once enjoyed from the abolitionists was withdrawn; it was "the Negro's hour."[6]

To the publishing industry, the 19th century was the golden

age of magazines.[7] To the women's suffrage movement, magazines provided a new opportunity to reach and influence a large, diverse, and geographically separated audience.

Rise of Women's Magazines

The names of the earliest magazines directed to a female audience tell us what publishers generally thought of women and, incidentally, that publishers had no idea what to call this new form of publication. The earlist of these publishers gave women such delightful reading as The Lady's Magazine, or Polite Companion for the Fair Sex (1759),[8] The New Lady's Magazine, or Polite, Useful, and Entertaining Monthly for the Fair Sex (1786), The New Museum, or Polite Repository of Amusement and Instruction (1788), The Repository and Ladies Weekly Museum (1800), and Toilet: A Weekly Collection of Literary Pieces Principally Designed for the Amusement of the Ladies (1801).

Some publishers were able to settle for only one title: The Lady's Literary Cabinet (1819), Ladies' Afternoon Visitor (1806), Ladies' Port Folio (1819), The Minerviad, The Western Ladies Casket (1824), and The Mothers Magazine (1833), for example. Others felt their audiences must prefer two: The Intellectual Regale; or Ladies' Tea Tray (1814), The Lady's Pearl and Literary Gleaner (1840), and The Englishwoman's Magazine and Christian Mothers' Miscellany (1846; London).

But whether the publication was a magazine, a repository, a museum, or a casket, it was filled with the latest coiffures, newest lacemaking patterns, tightest wasp-waists, and most elevating fiction. A single issue of The Ladies Repository ("a

monthly periodical devoted to literature, art, and religion," according to its editor Rev. E. Wentworth, D.D.)[10] included among its contents these articles: "Aunt Maria's School Days"; "Confessions of a Maid of Honor," by Professor William Wells; "The Cross and the Flag," by the Rev. H.H. Clark, U.S.N.; "Eisenac and its Castle," by Mrs. S.N.D. Fry; "Fair Weather and Foul in a Far Country," by Mrs. Flora B. Harris; "Ill-starred Wedding," by Mrs. C.H. Nichols; "Intoxicants," by Rev. T.F. Parker; "Jezebel, or, Woman's Influence Perverted," by Rev. R.N. Sledd; "Mosaic and Antique Art," by George B. Griffith; "Mythology of the New Zealanders," by Louise M. Coffin; "Nervous Diseases," by Abel Stevens, D.D.; "Political Corruption, Causes and Cure," by F.C. Iglehart; and "Shaking Hands, Bowing and Saluting," anonymous. Scanning the table of contents is somewhat fatiguing; yet most families who subscribed to this magazine and others similar to it read them aloud to an audience of family or friends. Inclusion of short plays was very common. With such diverse subject offerings as these, it is not surprising that this particular publication lived 45 years. As the fashions in bustles and lace, many periodicals didn't last for long; some survived only one issue.[11]

The growth of the new magazine industry was made possible by printing advancements in the last half of the century and was further stimulated by expanding services of The Federal Post Office. Postage was lowered in 1885 for second class mailing, the same year the linotype machine was invented. In 1886, photo-engraving allowed the inexpensive reproduction of halftone photographs. In 1887, monotype arrived. In 1888, photographic film

became available to replace the more expensive and awkward plates. In 1893, a color printing process was first used successfully in the U.S. for large-scale press runs, and in 1897, rural free delivery boosted the circulations of agricultural and women's magazines. The national circulations of magazines drew advertising revenue, which helped defray expenses that once had been borne by subscribers alone.[12]

Another advancement on the business side of the industry was specialization.[13] Many publishers found they need not aim at the broad audience of "women" in their magazines. Instead, they might target religious women with Reverend Theophilus Ransom Gates' Battle-Ax, and Weapons of War (1837).[14] Battle-Ax was a missionary magazine, as was Light and Life for Heathen Women (1869), but there were musical magazines (The Euterpeiad; or, Musical Intelligencer and Ladies' Gazette [1820]), farm magazines (The Farmer's Wife [1857]), and freemason's magazines (The Masonic Miscellany and Ladies' Literary Magazine [1821]).

These magazines often carried articles suggesting that the publication was for or against women's rights. Atlantic Monthly, for example, carried "Woman Suffrage Pro and Con" by C.W. Clark in its March 1890 issue; the author had little to say for "pro." Similarly, the North American Review of September 1895 carried "Why Women Do Not Want the Vote." Other publications took moderate stances. The Yellow Book, a quarterly literary magazine, published "Women -- Wives or Mothers" "By a Woman" in October 1894. While the article assumed a woman must be one or the other (indeed, postulated that a woman could be one or the

other but not both), its author expressed some doubts about the stereotypical woman: "Dear to the soul of the female writer is the maternal type. With loving, if tiresome, frequency, she is presented to us again and yet again. In truth we sometimes grow tired of her saintly monotony."[15]

Finally, entire magazines whose chief purpose was to promote women's suffrage were also begun during this era. Into the world of the "cabinets of fashion" and "ladies' tea trays," Lucy Stone brought The Woman's Journal in 1870.[16] There were other women's rights magazines, including The Lily (1849), The Revolution (1868), The Agitator (1869), and The Una, A Paper Devoted to the Elevation of Women (1853), but Stone's publication was the voice of the American Woman Suffrage Association. Although this was the smaller of the two national women's groups, its well-organized core group and more conservative (i.e., not socialist) message made it the more politically powerful of the two organizations.[17] In 1889, when the organizations united, it was under the American Woman Suffrage Association banner.[18]

Table 1 records the start-up and failure dates of women's periodicals from 1760 to 1920 and indicates the editorial stance on women's rights of each. In the 18th and 19th centuries, what we would now call "newsletters" were not easily distinguishable from "magazines." The beginning of the 20th century brought with it a clear differentiation (see Table 1 Notes). For consistency with previous centuries (where all periodicals that did not appear daily might be considered "magazines"), Table 1 shows all periodicals -- both newletters and magazines -- in the 20th century portion. Presence of a woman as publisher or editor is

indicated (where known), and periodical titles are provided in an accompanying "key." Periodical names and dates of publication used in compiling these tables was drawn from the union list of women's periodicals of the Madison, Wisconsin, Libraries, considered by some the most extensive collection of women's periodicals in the United States.[18]

Table 2 charts the growth in numbers and percent of pro-suffrage magazines in the U.S. from 1760 to 1935, compared to the total numbers of women's magazines. Table 3 shows an enlargement of the 1825 to 1920 portion of Table 2; along the "x" axis, electoral victories for women's suffrage are listed. Again the numbers of periodicals were calculated using the Madison Libraries Union List. The electoral victories are those described in the National American Woman Suffrage Association's history VICTORY: How Women Won It. The increase in numbers and proportion of suffrage publications is paralleled by the suffrage victories.

Before the "age of magazines," suffrage proponents spread their message by means of personal communications: writing letters; printing handbills, and flyers; travelling and talking among friends; forming associations and clubs; and making public speaking tours from town to town.

Letters among the suffragists are widely available; the feminists kept excellent records and their six-volume History of Woman Suffrage, as well as numerous autobiographies, books of letters, and published diaries provide a rich source of information about all their communication activities.[19] There

are also many histories and other records of women's clubs in this era, among them The History of the American Association of University Women and The History of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.[20] Antoinette Brown Blackwell wrote of the Association for the Advancement of Women, "Many most satisfactory life-long friendships were formed among members....This frequent meeting of co-workers has always been to me one of the chief rewards of a somewhat strenuous life."[21]

The lyceum and public speaking circuits were an excellent means of raising money; attendance was high in rural towns where listening to unpopular ideas provided a break from evenings spent at home reading aloud or singing hymns and popular ballads. A speaker who managed to post enough handbills could expect to make a small profit from each lecture after rent for the "house" was paid. However, public speaking tours were not a particularly good way of promulgating an idea. Audiences would attend almost any sort of talk, if only to jeer or stamp their feet so the speaker could not be heard. During the first half of the century, when they were identified with abolitionists, women speakers were doused with cold water, "smoked out" by objectors who stopped up the chimneys or scorched pepper in their meeting halls, and even burned out by opponents who set the meeting place itself on fire.[22] The speaking tour circuit was grueling without these added hazards. At 63, Elizabeth Cady Stanton was tired of public speaking; she wrote in March of 1879:

> "I have been wandering, wandering ever since we parted; up early and late, sleepy and disgusted with my profession, as there is no rest from the time the season begins until it ends. Two months more containing 61 days still stretch their long length before me....rehearse "Our Boys," "Our

> Girls," or "Home Life" 61 times, eat 183 more miserable meals, sleep on cotton sheets...61 more nights, shake hands with 61 more committees, smile, look intelligent and interested in everyone who approaches me, while I feel like a squeezed sponge, affect a little spring and briskness in my gait on landing in each new town to avoid making the impression that I am 70..."23

Lucy Stone became an active proponent of women's rights at a time when public speaking tours were the best means of reaching a wide audience, and her skill as an orator won her the title "bright morning star" of the suffrage movement.[24] As the printing industry grew, she adopted the magazine as a way of communicating her ideals. Because the evolving communications strategies of Lucy Stone are exemplary of the broadening of the suffrage message that occurred with the new "women's press," her personal and media communications are useful illustrations.

Letters of Lucy Stone

The Stone letters included here are part of the family papers of Mrs. Madeleine Gunnett of Springfield, Ohio. Previously unpublished, they were written to an Ohio cousin (and his wife) whom Stone had known in her youth and seen infrequently since. All were written in haste, if one may judge from the handwriting. In many cases, letters and syllables are dropped from words, and legibility is very poor. The end of one letter is scrawled across its opening salutation in an effort to save paper or postage. (The letters are reproduced in their entirety in the Appendix.)

The contents of the three letters are undistinguished. There are no momentous revelations or eloquent passages suitable for quoting. Nonetheless, these letters by their very typicality

are important to an understanding of the suffrage movement's efforts to communicate its ideals. Totaling only five pages, the letters cover more than the family chitchat -- although grandchildren do enter into the discussion. Stone speaks of her background, education, suffrage work, alliances, political maneuverings, travels, speeches, and publications -- all the elements of creating and expanding a network of feminists through communication.[25] Passages relevant to communication of suffrage movement goals are included here.

Of her background, she writes in these three letters:

> "I wish you could come East and we would go once more to New Braintree [where she was raised] to the old places" and
>
> "I did not think much about it [her ancestry] when I had my father and mother who might have told me, and now it is too late so far as they are concerned.
>
> "It is a good stock we come of on both sides. The Stones had intellect and courage and the Matthewses had a fine and high moral sense. It is good to have had good ancestors."

Education, through which feminist ways of seeing were communicated, is mentioned obliquely in the letters. Stone was invited to speak at her alma mater's (Oberlin College) "SesquiCentennial," and she promised her Ohio cousins a copy of her "speech on that occasion."

The suffrage work that stemmed from Stone's background and education occupied most of the three letters, as it occupied most of her life's time.

As noted earlier, public speeches like the one at Oberlin were important to the women's rights movement of that era, serving as the "Meet the Press" or "National Press Club" of the

19th century. Large meetings of those who shared a common interest were even more important than they are today, particularly at the time these letters were written.[26] The suffrage movement had grown substantially by 1883 (when the last of these letters were written), but the inventions that would make possible a "penny press" were just developing. There was indeed Stone's publication -- and there was letter-writing as a means of communication, but Stone also managed to find time for the regular conventions that served as both community-builders and news-makers.

The first of the letters opens: "I am to be in Cincinnati on the 4th and 5th of Nov at a Woman's Suffrage meeting."

The second says, "I thought of you while I was at Cincinnati and wished I had time to go down to see you. But our Journal though only a weekly keeps us close and it has not money to pay extra help."

Opponents to suffrage were more well-to-do, particularly the powerful liquor interest. The suffrage movement was analogous to the temperance organizations in the view of the liquor bosses, who opposed both vehemently,[27] but Stone was clear about the differences between the two movements and which was the more important:

> "...I am sorry about the temperance defeat in Ohio. But the remedy for intemperance lies deeper than the statute book can reach, and it will never come till women have their rights and the power and influence that the possession of the ballot will give."

Lack of the ballot did not stop suffragists from reaching for power and influence, as another passage shows:

> "We are having rather a bad time here with Butler[?]. The Republicans want the suffragists to go with them against Butler, but they nominated an antisuffragist for governor and the suffragists won't go for their enemies. I will send you some Woman's Journals that will show you what we have to say about that."

Insensitivity on the part of politicians was not the only constraint on the feminists of this period. Financial backing had been withdrawn by the abolitionists some twenty years before and, as Catt and Shuler write, the suffrage movement was financed by ordinary working people, like the woman who walked to and from her domestic employment so as to donate her "carfare" to the cause.[28]

Writes Stone,

> "Mrs. Eddy did leave about $57,000 to be divided equally between Susan B. Anthony and me to use for suffrage but her son-in-law, a man with half a million, contests the will. We expect to get it but it is still in the court."

(Eddy's bequest was not released to Anthony and Stone until April 27, 1885; by then the case had been heard by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts and the sum reduced to $48,230.)[29]

Eddy, Stone, Anthony, and many other strong leaders worked throughout their lives for the feminist cause of women's rights, though peripheral members of the movement came and went as their own lives dictated. Even for the most dedicated, life sometimes dictated that feminist causes must come second:

"Frances Dana Gage is sorely afflicted. She is old and a paralytic, helpless and nervous to the last degree," wrote Stone.

"The old people are gone, that were the old people," she wrote, "and we are in their place."

"I am now 65 years old and hope to live to see woman voters."

The staunch and continuing interest in women's suffrage shown in these letters does not bear out the complaints of historians like Strom[30] and Flexner,[31] who say that Stone was not "consistently feminist" and that her American Woman Suffrage Association "had turned its back on those fiery days when abolitionists, men and women alike, had stood up to angry mobs."

The Woman's Journal: the Suffrage Message Homogenized

The Woman's Journal was financed as a joint-stock venture, and so had more capital to begin publication than radical magazines such as Mary Livermore's Agitator.[32] Stone's publication was aimed at an audience of well-educated, as-yet-uncommitted club women, professionals, and writers, unlike, for example, The Revolution, which spoke to the exploited woman worker, or The Union Signal, which aimed at prohibitionist pro-suffrage women.[33]

In 1879, issues of the Journal (the year the first of the letters [above] was written), Stone published editorial matter which discussed in rational tones and great detail the political issues of the day as they related to women's issues. She wrote, for example, of the need for opportunities for women in the sciences; Antoinette Brown Blackwell supplied an accompanying article on "the so-called physiologically inferior mental powers of women." "Dress reform in Germany" was a topic, along with the presidential campaign of the Hayes-Wheeler candidates, women at the Centennial Exhibition, and woman as musicians from the time

of ancient Greece and Rome to the present.

These articles were long and somewhat tedious, unbroken by subheadings or illustration. It may have been that Stone's audience read straight through these dissertations without even pausing for breath. It is also possible that a sprinkling of shorter items, such as letters from well-wishers, made the whole more palatable.

For example, a Henry Faxon sent $100 and heated commentary on the "two-facedness" of the liquor interests, who opposed women's rights while pretending to work for home and family. (The liquor interests had a publication of their own, somewhat cynically named Champion of Fair Play.[34])

Other short items were fillers speciously labelled "Humorous," as the following example shows:

> "Two persons were once disputing so loudly on the subject of religion that they awoke a big dog which had been sleeping on the hearth before them and he forthwith barked most furiously. An old divine present, who had been quietly sipping his tea while the disputants were talking, gave the dog a kick and exclaimed, 'Hold your tongue, you silly brute! You know no more about it than they do.'"

Another reads, "There is no harm in a glass of whiskey -- if you allow it to remain in the glass."

Some advertising space provided visual relief from the monotony of the tabloid-sized pages of type. Unlike the magazines, advertisements were not yet targeted; it is even possible that manufacturers assumed women were the monetary powers of the 19th century family. The advertising in 19th century women's magazines implies this. In The Woman's Journal, Pope's Air Rifle Pistol, "recommended by General Sherman," was a regular visitor

to the advertising pages as was the Favorite brand cigarette roller and a maker of "Human Hair" wigs.

Stone's supporters could not afford to finance the journal indefinitely, but ads were by no means easy to sell. Stone wrote in 1874 to a friend:

> "I wish I could rest. I have been trying to get advertisements for the Woman's Journal to eke out its expenses. Yesterday I walked miles; to picture stores, to crockery stores, to "special sales", going up flight after flight of stairs only to find the men out, or not ready to advertise. And for all my day's toil I did not get a cent..."35

It seems likely that the "Concerning Women" column down the righthand side of the front page helped sell the Woman's Journal to subscribers, if not to advertisers. Stone's "personals" were aimed at fulfilling three needs: first, the desire of professional and intellectual women to know what their contemporaries were doing, second, highlighting the most praise-worthy activities of such women, and third, giving the Journal a touch of "high-society" polish and with that, adding legitimacy to women's activities outside their prescribed roles in the home.

About professional women, Stone included notices mentioning the "postmistress at Richmond," a "candidate for school board," a "professor of History at Wellesley College," an "eloquent and persuasive speaker," and a "Mrs. Abbie Wilson, M.D."

Unusual women included "Miss Thurston, the balloonist" who "ascended from the fairgrounds in Armenia [N.Y.] last week." Also of note was a woman who was thrown from her phaeton onto the railroad tracks. "With great presence of mind," she rolled from under an oncoming train that was so close it "tore the feathers from her hat." Another woman dragged a raging bull from her

injured husband, whom she carried to the house; he died in her arms.

The high-society "brushing-coats-with-the-literatae" touch was added with references like "step-daughter of the late John Stuart Mill," "a daughter of the late Justice Grier," "Hawthorne's fair-haired daughter," "Mrs. Daniel Webster, widow of the great statesman," "sister of Henry Thoreau," and "Queen Victoria" (who "bravely" did something or other).

The adjectives and nouns that describe women in The Woman's Journal frequently resembled the patronizing language used in the newspapers of the time. Stone often described women in terms of their sex roles; these "signifiers" for women were much like those of general circulation newspapers of the day.[36] While women were never referred to by first name in the Journal, there was a strong emphasis on the use of courtesy titles and a tendency to describe women in terms of their relationships to men, famous or otherwise. Some of the salutary effect of mentioning a woman "editor of the New Northwest of Portland" was reduced by a nearby reference to another woman as the "daughter of a farmer of Groveland [IL]." The personal column "Concerning Women" might contain both a complaint that a woman was "refused admission to the bar in Minnesota" and a mention of an "affectionate, tender, true-hearted, and loving woman."

This dichotomy has been explained by historians as a deliberate effort of the women's rights groups to "tone down" their message, to engender in the general public a belief that ordinary, feminine women might actually want women's rights.[37]

Purposefully targetting one's message to one's audience is now an established practice in marketing and advertising. It seems to have been adopted by Stone in The Woman's Journal as well. The welcome result was a closer focus on pertinent issues as the message obtains wider distribution.

Discussion

At the risk of being an apologist for Stone, it must be argued that the "watering down" of the feminist message to a form that permitted uncommitted women in the general public to "buy" it was a necessary step in securing women's suffrage in the U.S. Strom[38] suggests that suffrage could succeed only after women "learned that their arguments should be as universal as possible." Opposition consisted not only of social custom and cultural beliefs about gender roles, but also of the powerful, moneyed liquor interests, who played up those cultural beliefs in counter-propaganda.

A letter by a brewers' association official reads,

> "In regard to the matter of woman suffrage, we are trying to keep from having any connection with it whatever. We are, however, in a position to establish channels of communication with the leaders of the Anti-Suffrage Movement for our friends in any State where suffrage is an issue. I consider it most dangerous to have the retailers identified or active in any way in this fight, as it will be used against us everywhere."[39]

In its publication Progress, the liquor dealers' position was also made quite clear:

> "...The condition is serious. Woman suffrage means prohibition. It is the duty of all men of this State who love their home, their family, their liberty, their rights and their citizenship, to go to the polls on

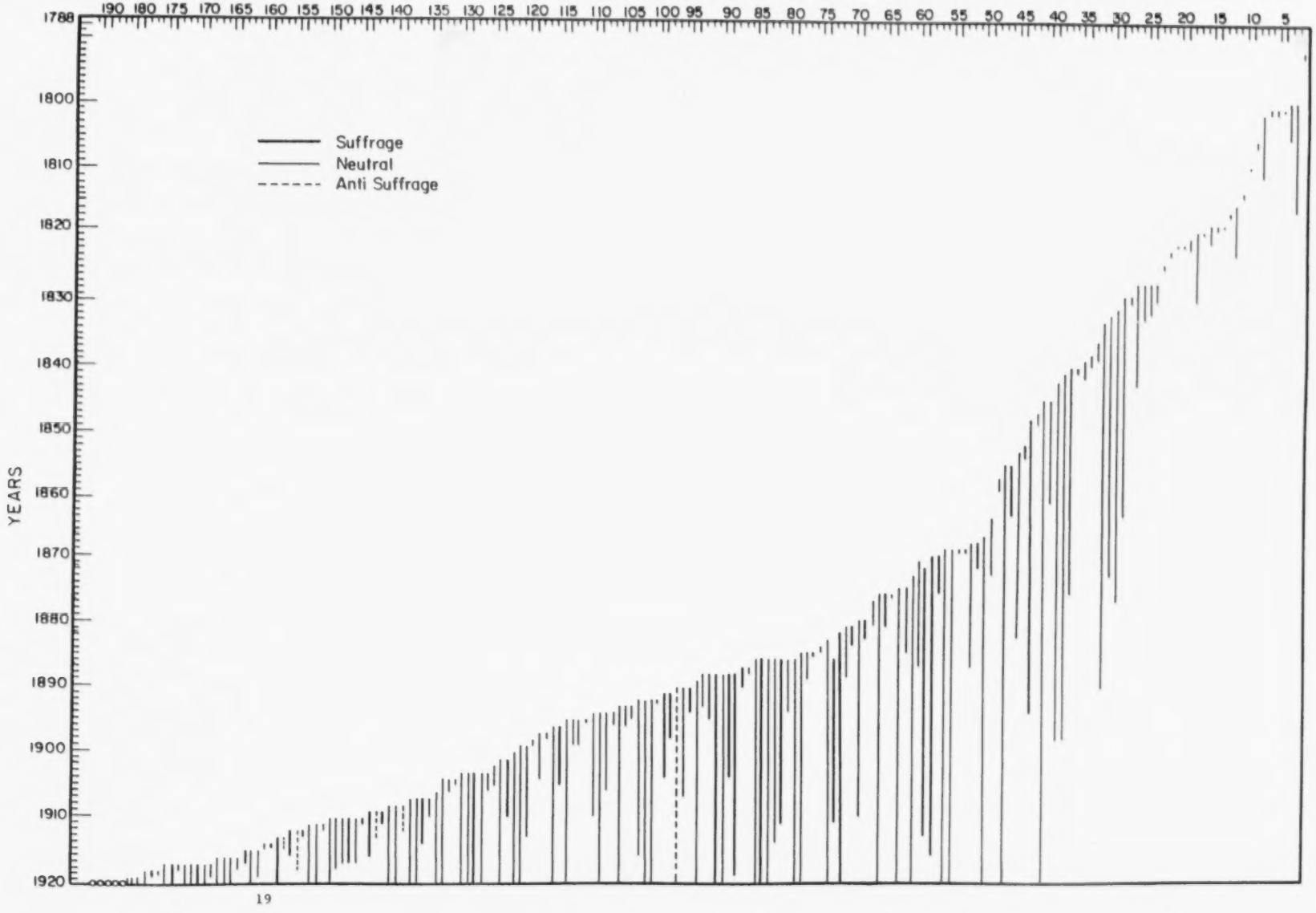
> November 5 and vote against this constitutional amendment."[40]

As the women's suffrage advocates later learned to imitate "machine" politics,[41] Lucy Stone learned in the late 19th century to imitate propagandists. She created a pasteurized, homogenized version of suffragists' concept of new gender roles, something that would have mass appeal, and marketed it with a specialized, targetted publication.

As such publications grew in number, so did the power of the suffrage movement. (Table 3 and its accompanying key illustrate this.) Other women had arrived at their own critical appraisals of gender roles through their individual experiences.[42] The advent of publications provided a way to reach this audience that far outstripped the old method of public speaking in the numbers of people it could influence. The coincidence of women's readiness and publications advocating suffrage is described by Catt and Shuler:

> "Encouraged by the knowledge that other women were rising, organized groups sprang into being in all parts of the country with no other incentive than the ripeness of the time, and no other connection with the original movers than the announcements in the press."[43]

The coincidence of pro-suffrage publications with the grassroots populist support[44] for the suffrage movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries suggests that targetted publications carrying what is essentially an advertisement for a cause are a better means of communicating an ideology than is attempting to communicate that ideology individually.


190 180 175 170 165 160 155 150 145 140 135 130 125 120 115 110 105 100 95 90 85 80 75 70 65 60 55 50 45 40 35 30 25 20 15 10 5
1788
1800
1810
1820
1830
1840
1850
1860
1870
1880
1890
1900
1910
1920
YEARS
Suffrage
Neutral
Anti Suffrage
19

Women's Magazines, 1788-1935
Key to Table 1

1 The [illegible] Museum: or Polite
Repos[illegible]ry of Amusement and Instruction
2 The [illegible] Magazine: and Repository of
Intel[illegible]ing Knowledge
3 The Ladies' Museum
4 The Repository and Ladies Weekly Museum
5 Trifles: A Weekly Collection of Literary
Pieces Principally Designed for the
Amusement of the Ladies
6 The Lady's Magazine and Musical Repository
7 The Lady's Monitor
8 The Lady's Miscellany: or
The Weekly Visitor
9 Ladies' Afternoon Visitor
10 Journal Des Dames
11 The Intellectual Regale: or
Ladies' Tea Tray
12 Weekly Magazine and Ladies' Miscellany
13 Ladies' Literary Museum: or,
Weekly Repository
14 The Ladies' Magazine
15 The Ladies' Visitor [sic]
16 Ladies' Literary Cabinet
17 Ladies' Port Folio
18 The Euterpeiad: or, Musical
Intelligencer, and Ladies Gazette
19 The Masonic Miscellany and
Ladies' Literary Magazine
20 The Diana and Ladies' Spectator
21 The Minervad
22 The Ladies' Magazine
23 The Western Ladies Casket
24 The Ladies' Museum
25 The Ladies' Miscellany
26 The Ladies' Magazine and
Literary Gazette
27 The Ladies' Companion
28 National Magazine: or Lady's Emporium
29 Lloyd's Magazine
30 The Ladies Repository and Literary
Magazine for the Home Circle
31 The Mothers Magazine
32 [illegible]
33 [illegible]
34 [illegible]
35 [illegible]
36 The Ladies' Pearl, and Literary Casket
37 The Detroit [illegible] Magazine
38 The Ladies' Repository
39 The New Yorker Magazine
40 Arthur's Home Magazine
41 The Ladies' Wreath
42 Park and Counsel
43 New England Offering, and
Ladies Parlor Magazine
44 The Lily
45 The Una. A Paper Devoted to
the Elevation of Women
46 Frank Leslie's Lady's Magazine
47 The Sibyl: A review of the tastes,
errors, and Fashions of society. etc
48 The Farmer's Wife
49 The Household Monthly
50 The Lady's Friend
51 Vaerner's Bazar [sic]
52 The Revolution
53 The Housewife: A Monthly Journal
Devoted to the Interests of the
American Housewife
54 The Agitator
55 The Mother at Home and
Household Magazine
56 Life and Light for Heathen Women
57 The Heathen Woman's Friend
58 Woodhull and Claflins Weekly
59 The Woman's Journal
60 The Woman's Exponent
61 The Ladies' Floral Cabinet
62 Woman's Home Companion
63 Woman's Work for Woman
64 The Union Signal and
The World's White Ribbon
65 The New Century for Women
66 The National Citizen and Ballot Box
67 McCall's
68 The Illustrated Household Magazine
69 Anti-Polygamy Standard
70 Woman's Missionary Advocate
71 Woman's Herald of Industry & Social
Science Spectator
72 The Kitchen Garden
73 The Graduate Woman
74 The Woman's Tribune
75 Ladies' Home Journal and
Practical Housekeeper
76 [illegible] Magazine of Woman's Handiwork
77 [illegible] ew Era
78 [illegible] Work
79 [illegible] Work for Woman and
[illegible] Lesson Leaf
80 [illegible]
81 Daughters of America
82 The Woman's Standard
83 The Philanthropist. Later Philanthropist
84 Tennessean
85 The Voice
86 The Advocate
87 Woman
88 The Working Woman
89 The Missionary Outlook
90 Woman Suffrage Leaflet
91 The Indian's Friend
92 The Woman's Column
93 The Working Woman's Journal
94 The Progressive

95 Public Papers (Protest Each Year)
[illegible]"
96 [illegible] War
97 The Woman's Club and
Public School Physician
98 The Remonstrance Against Woman Suffrage
99 The National Bulletin
100 The Republic
101 The Mahogany Tree
102 Vogue
103 Daughters of the American Revolution
Magazine
104 American Woman
105 The Social Mirror
106 Magazine of the Daughters of
the American Revolution
107 Pan-American Medical Women's Journal
108 The Woman's Council Magazine
109 The New England Kitchen Magazine
110 The Standard Delineator of Fashions,
Fancy Work, and Millinery
111 The Woman's Magazine
112 The Milwaukee Journal
[illegible] Charity Edition]
113 The American Jewess
114 Vile, New York
115 Better Food
116 Political Equality Series
117 House Beautiful
118 American Home Magazine
119 The Club Woman
120 The American Club Woman
121 The Keystone
122 Tessy's Secretary
* 123 Association of American Law Schools
Newsletter
[illegible]grines
[illegible] Catholic Booklet CAP
[illegible] Woman's Welfare
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
124 Woman's Label League Journal
125 Yesbook
126 Glamour
127 Southern Women's Magazine
128 Bulletin of the Inter-Municipal
Committee Household Research
129 Die Deutsche Hausfrau [Chicago]
130 The Home Economist and the
American Food Journal
131 The American Journal of Eugenics
132 The Coming Nation
133 National Society United States
Daughters of 1812 Newsletter
134 The Woman's Press [YWCA]
135 The Anti-Suffragist
136 Lutheran Woman's Work
137 Pan Pipes of Sigma Alpha Iota
138 The American Suffragette
139 [illegible] Association Opposed to
the Extension of Suffrage to Women
Bulletin
140 The Forerunner
141 The New Voter
142 The Temperance Educational Quarterly
143 The Woman Voter
144 The Woman's Municipal League of Boston
Bulletin
145 The Ladies' Garment Worker
146 [illegible] (Fashion/garment industry)
147 Life and Labor
148 Woman Lawyer's Journal
149 Fraternally Yours. Ceska Jednota
150 The Woman's Bulletin
151 The Woman's Protest Against Woman
Suffrage
152 Maryland Suffrage News
153 The Reply
154 Suffragist
155 The Woman Rebel
156 Business Woman's Magazine
157 Intercollegiate Community Service
Quarterly
158 Women and the City's Work
159 National Suffrage News
160 Woman's City Club Bulletin
161 The Woman Athlete
162 The Kappa Beta Pi [Law] Quarterly
163 Vassar [illegible]
164 [illegible] Monthly Bulletin of the National
League of Woman's Service
165 Blue Triangle News [YWCA War [illegible]
Council]
166 The Woman Citizen
167 The Birth Control Review
168 [illegible] Illustrated
169 The Los Angeles Garment Worker
170 National Business Woman
171 Rotary Clubs, Brookfield, WI
172 Industrial Facts
173 Woman's Work and War
174 The Woman Patriot
175 Duty
176 Woman's Bureau Bulletin
177 Justice U.S.D. Justice
and Statistics
178 Woman's Home Missions
179 General Bulletin American Legion
Auxiliary
180 Missouri Newsletter Woman's Division
Christian Service
181 Women Federation Clubwoman
182 [illegible] Club Bulletin of Women

* Note: After the turn of the century, the number of commercial-venture women's magazines decreased, but numerous women's club magazines sprang up. Where possible, the organization producing a periodical is identified.

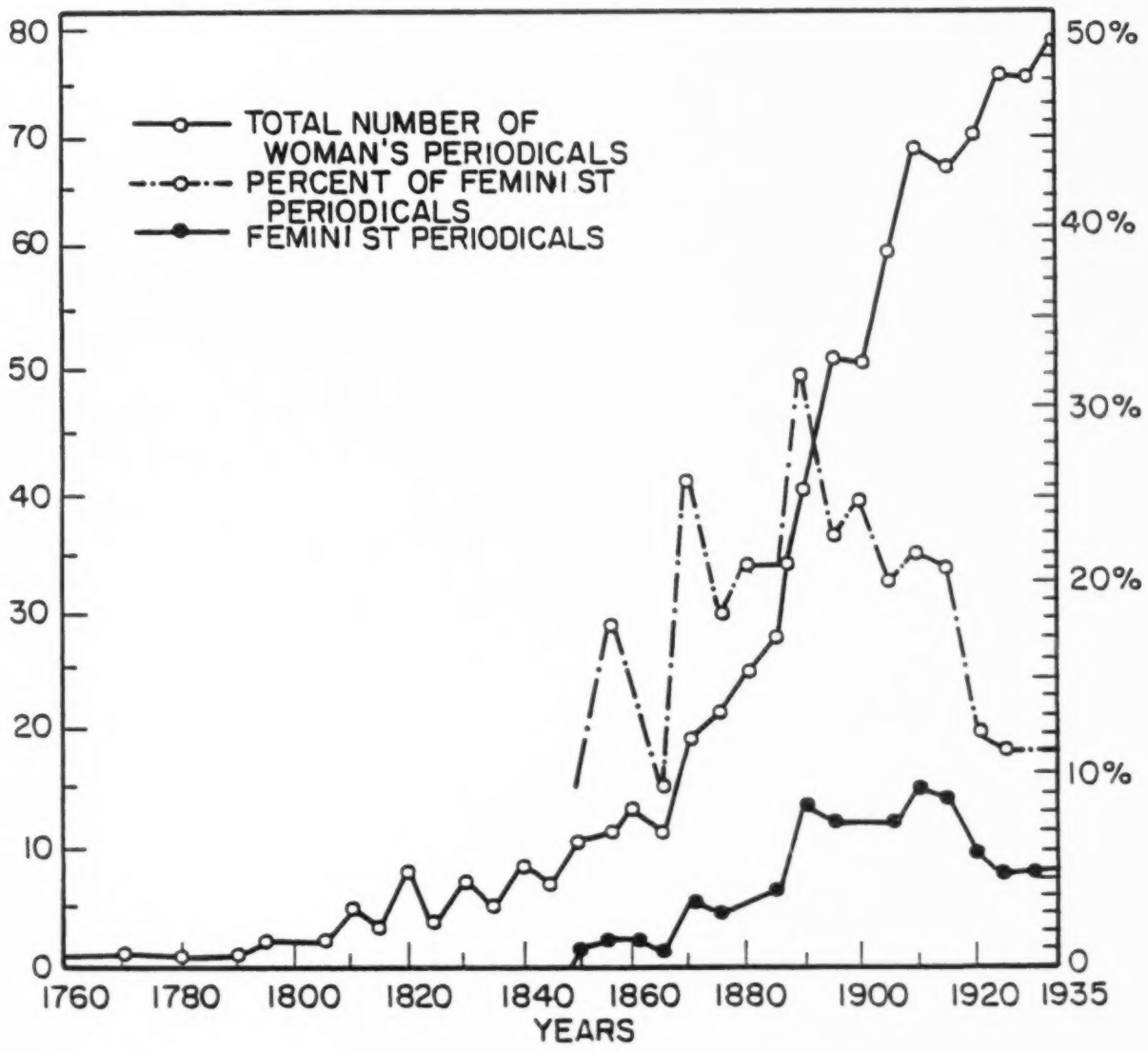
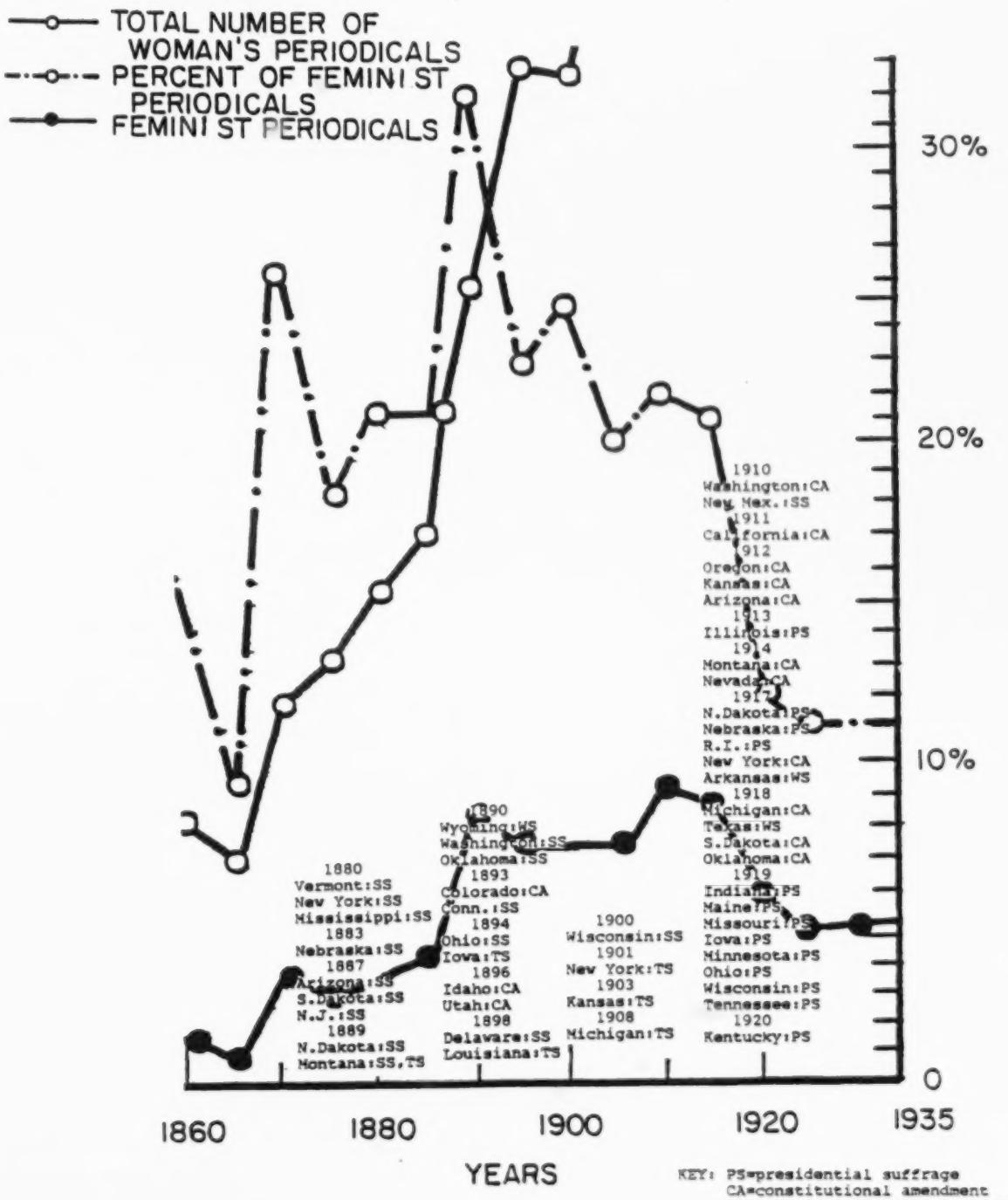


Table 2. Growth in Numbers and Percent of Pro-Suffrage Publications



KEY: PS=presidential suffrage
CA=constitutional amendment
WS=women's suffrage gained by legislative or other means
SS=school suffrage
TS=tax and bond suffrage

Table 3. Women's Periodicals and Suffrage Victories

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2. Numerous diaries which give evidence of this have been published in recent years, as have excellent collections of diary excerpts and letters; see especially Cathy Luchetti and Carol Olwell, The Women of the West (St. George, Utah: Antelope Island Press, 1982); Joanna L. Stratton, Pioneer Women: Voices from the Kansas Frontier (New York: Touchstone/Simon and Schuster, 1981); Elinore Pruitt Stewart, Letters of a Woman Homesteader (Lincoln, Nb: University of Nebraska Press, 1961); Lillian Schlissel, Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey (New York: Schocken Books, 1982; and Carol Fairbanks and Sara Brooks Sundberg, Farm Women on the Prairie Frontier (Metuchen, NJ: 1983); other sources are Dee Brown, The Gentle Tamers: Women of the Old Wild West (New York: Bantom, 1958); Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 159-162.

3. Elisabeth Griffith, In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 24-28; Katharine Anthony, Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1954), p. 99; Ruth Barnes Moynihan, Rebel for Rights: Abigail Scott Duniway (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 12-13; National American Woman Suffrage Association, VICTORY: How Women Won It (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1940), pp. 7-9.

4. Nancy Wolloch, Women and the American Experience (New York: Knopf, 1984), p. 186-7.

5. Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 105-114.

6. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "A Pronunciamento," The Revolution, July 15, 1869, p. 24.

7. Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885 Vol. III (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 5; James Playsted Wood, Magazines in the United States, 2nd ed. (New York: Ronald Press, 1956, pp. 75-89.

8. Dates of first publication are given throughout this article.

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10. Danky, Women's Periodicals; see also Table 1.

11. Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media, 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1984); James Eckman, The Heritage of the Printer (Philadelphia: North American Publishing Co., 1965); Geoffrey Ashall Glaister, An Encyclopedia of the Book (Cleveland: World, 1960); Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, The Book in America: A History of the Making and Selling of Books in the United States (New York: R.R Bowker, 1952).

12. Mott, History of American Magazines, Vol. IV, p. 10: "And every interst had its own journal or journals -- all the ideologies and movements, all the arts, all the schools of philosophy and education, all the sciences, all the trades and industries, all the professions and callings, all organizations of importance, all hobbies and recreations." Also, Kathryn Weibel, Mirror Mirror: Images of Women Reflected in Popular Culture (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1977), pp. 147-8.

13. First dates of publication under these names are given.

14. Pages 11-18.

15. Flexner, Century of Struggle; National American Woman Suffrage Association, VICTORY; Danky, Women's Periodicals; Mott, History of American Magazines.

16. Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 226.

17. Ibid.

18. Computed from James P. Danky, ed., Women's Periodicals and Newspapers from the 18th Century to 1981, "A union list of the holdings of Madison, Wisconsin, Libraries" (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982); see also p. ix; many of the periodicals are available at the Ohio State University's Main Library in "hard" copy form.

19. For histories, see Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan Anthony, Mathilda Joslyn Gage, Ida Husted Harper, The History of Woman Suffrage, 6 vols. (Rochester and New York: 1881, 1886, 1902, 1922); Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics: the Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923); Ida Clyde Clarke, Suffrage in the Southern States: A Brief History of the Progress of the Movement...(Nashville: Williams Printing Co, 1914). For autobiographies, see Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Eighty Years and More (1918-1897): Reminiscences (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898); Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriet Stanton Blatch (New York: Putnam, 1940); Abigail Scott Duniway, Path Breaking: An Autobiographical History of the Equal Suffrage Movement in Pacific Coast States (Portland,

Oregon: James, Kerns, Abbott, 1914); Charlotte Perkins Gilman, The Living of Charlotte Perkins Gilman: An Autobiography (New York: Appleton-Centruy, 1935); Elizabeth Blackwell, Pioneer Work in Opening the Medical Profession to Women (London: Everyman's Library, 1895). For letters and diaries, see Theodore Stanton and Harriot Stanton Blatch, eds., Elizabeth Cady Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters, Diary, and Reminiscences (New York: Harper, 1922); Elizabeth Cazden, Antoinette Brown Blackwell (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1983); Gilbert Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds., The Letters of Theodore Weld, Angeline Grimke Weld and Sarah Grimke, 1822-1844 (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1934); Arthur J. Larsen, ed., Crusader and Feminist: Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm (St. Paul: 1934).

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22. Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics, pp. 24, 27; Alice Stone Blackwell, Lucy Stone: Pioneer Woman Suffragist (Boston: Little, Brown, 1930), pp. 31, 76, 79-81; Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. 100-101; VICTORY, p. 8.

23. Griffith, In Her Own Right, pp. 162-3, 169.

24. Elinor Rice Hays, Morning Star: Biography of Lucy Stone (Boston: Little, Brown, 1930).

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26. Ellen Carol DuBois, "Women's Rights Before the Civil War," in Jean E. Friedman and William G. Shade, Our America Sisters: Women in American Life and Thought, 3rd ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1982), pp. 309-12.

27. Stanton, et al., History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. II, p. 889; Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. 188-9, 231, 265, 307-9, 335.

28. Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics, p. 141.

29. New York Times, April 28, 1885.

30. Sharon Hartman Strom, "Leadership and Tactics in the

American Woman Suffrage Movement: A New Perspective from Massachusetts," in Friedman and Shade, Our American Sisters, pp. 372-392.

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36. Lee Jolliffe and Turner Bond, "Sex-Role Stereotypes in Two Newspapers of 1885: The Influence of the Pioneer Effort," Annual Meeting of AEJMC, August 5, 1985, Memphis, TN.; other discussions of signifiers occur in Lengerman and Wallace, Gender in America, p. 21; Jean Faust, "Words That Oppress," Women Speaking (April 1970); Nancy Barron, "Sex-Typed Language: the Product of Grammatical Causes," Acta Sociologica 14:24-72 (1971); Varda One, "Manglish," Everywoman (Venice, California, 1971); Elizabeth Burr, Susan Dunn, and Norma Farquhar, "Women and the Language of Inequality," Social Ed., 36:841-45 (1972); Robin Lakoff, Language and Woman's Place, (New York: Harper Colophon, 1975); Alleen Pace Nilsen, Haig Bosmajian, H. Lee Gershuny, and Julia P. Stanley, Sexism and Language (Urbana, Ill: National Council of Teachers of English, 1977).

37. Strom, "Leadership and Tactics," p. 375; VICTORY, p. 53; Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 223.

38. Strom, p. 375.

39. Brewing and Liquor Interests, and German and Bolshevik Propaganda, Report and Hearings of the Subcommittee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 65 Cong., 1 Sess., vol I, p. 1032, in Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 307; the letter dates from 1914; for earlier evidences of counter-propaganda, see Flexner, as cited in Ref. 29.

40. Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics, p. 155; quote is from Wisconsin liquor dealers association, but is representative.

41. Catt and Shuler, ibid., p. 284, quote the New York World: "The Woman Suffrage Party is now to be reckoned with as a political force. It has a 'machine.'...The suffragists are to be congratulated on their new tactics." (undated) See also Alice Henry, "The National American Woman Suffrage Association and Machine Politics," Life and Labor, II (Feb., 1912), 51-54; Harriet Burton Laidlaw, Organizing to Win by the Political District Plan: A Handbook for Working Suffragists (New York:

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., 1914).

42. Lengermann and Wallace, Gender in America, p. 150. This was true for Stone, who was born the eighth of nine children to a New England farm family. Her daughter's biography of Stone (Alice Stone Blackwell, Lucy Stone: Pioneer of Women's Rights [Boston: Little Brown, 1930]) asserts that she arrived at her feminism early. When she read a Biblical text that said, "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee," she was horrified and decided she must go to college, learn Latin and Greek, and examine that text in the original (Blackwell, p. 16).

43. Catt and Shuler, p. 21.

44. Catt and Shuler, p. 114; also Current, et al, American History, p. 623.

Appendix

OFFICE OF

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL,

~~THE MUSIC HALL~~ 5 Park St.

Boston, Oct. 22 1879

Dear Cousin John Stone

I am to be in Cincinnati on the 4th. and 5th of Nov. at a Womans Suffrage meeting.

If it is convenient for you and I should be glad to go up after the meeting and renew the acquaintance more than 20 years ago.

I wish I could at the same time meet the Mr. Charles Matthews of Middleport Mfgs Co. who is trying to find out our family tree.

If you will drop me a line either here or at Cincinnati. so that I may know what to do you will much oblige

Yours very truly

Lucy Stone

The Woman's Journal,
5 Park Street,
BOSTON, MASS.
If not called for in 10 days, please return
Col. John Stone
Pelpre
Ohio

The Woman's Journal.
No. 3 PARK STREET

Boston, Aug 6th 1865

My dear Cousins
Col. John Stone
and Mrs. Stone

Thank you very much for the book "The ninety fifth anniversary of the Settlement of Ohio at Marietta."

We have read it with great interest and have written a notice of it for the next number of our Woman's Journal. A copy of which I will send you. Also one containing an account of the Oberlin semi Centennial and my speech on that occasion.

I thought of you while I was at Oberlin as I did when I was at Cincinnati. and wished I had time to go down to see you. But our

journal though only a weekly
Thee'll close. and it has not money
t pay Extra help

I wish you could come East
and we would go once more t
New Braintree. t the old places.
The old people are gone, but then
the old people. and we are in their
places.

My brother Francis Stone who
went to your house many years
ago is now about 80 years old
and in good health. working on his
farm with his son who is married
and lives with him. and has three
children. My other brother
Wm. S. Stone is in the old place
where you found us in W. Brookfield
more than thirty years ago. His son-
in law lives with him. and he has 2
grandchildren. I have one child
a daughter who Edits the Journal with
us. My only sister has one daughter. Anna

The Woman's Journal,
5 Park Street,
BOSTON, - MASS.
If not called for in 10 days, please return

Col John Stone
Belpre
Ohio

OFFICE OF
The Woman's Journal,
No. 5 PARK STREET
Boston, Oct 27 1883

My dear Cresi

I was pleased to receive your letter of the 18th inst. I wish we lived near enough to meet and talk of many things of common interest. Especially our ancestors. I did not think much about it. When I had my father and mother who might have told me. and now it is too late. So far as they are concerned. It is a good stock we came of on both sides. The Stones had intellect and courage and the Matthews's had a fine and high moral sense. It is good to have had good ancestors.

I am glad you liked my Chardon speech— [illegible]

temperance defeat in Ohio. But the remedy for intemperance lies deeper than the statute book can reach. and it will never come till women have their rights. and the power and influence that the possession of the ballot will give.

We are having rather a hot time here with Butler. The republicans want the Suffragists to go with them against Butler. but they nominated an anti Suffragist for Governor. and the Suffragists wont go for their enemies. I will send you some Woman's journals that will show you what we have to say about it.

Mrs. Lacy died leaving about $7,000 to be divided equally between Susan B. Anthony and me. to use for Suffrage but her son-in-law a man worth half a million contests the will. We expect to get it but it is still in the court. I was glad to hear your family news and of the grandchildren as well. My mother Grant has a granddaughter born in Aug. and so has my Sister Sarah one born the same month. He has 3 grandchildren so has my Sister S. and my brother Wm. R. has 3.